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FROM WASHINGTON

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POLITICAL ANALYSIS: FURTHER HINT OF MILITANCY IN SOVIET
POLICY

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: SOME SOVIET LEADERS ARE ATTEMPTING TO
GIVE RETROSPECTIVE LEGITIMACY TO THEIR MILITANT VIEWS ON
CURRENT POLICY ISSUES, AND IN TYPICAL FASHION THEY USED
THE RECENT COMMEMORATION OF THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
14TH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS (1925) TO DO SO.

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(A)--PRAVDA'S TREATMENT OF THIS ANNIVERSARY MARKED THE END
OF ITS EIGHT-MONTH SILENCE ABOUT STALIN; ALONG WITH THE
MILITARY PRESS, IT RENDERED THE GREAT DICTATOR HIS DUE AS
THE CONGRESS' MAIN SPEAKER.

(B)--IN CONTRAST TO SOME OF THE OTHER ANNIVERSARY COMMENTATORS, PRAVDA IGNORED THE MERITS OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

AND EAST-WEST TRADE AS RECOGNIZED BY THE MAJOR RESOLUTION OF THE 14TH CONGRESS.

(C)--INSTEAD, IT STRESSED THE TIME-HONORED VIRTUES OF FORCED-PACE DEVELOPMENT OF HEAVY/MILITARY INDUSTRY AND OF MAKING THE USSR INDEPENDENT OF WESTERN IMPORTS.

(D)--FINALLY, PRAVDA IGNORED RECENT APPEALS FOR A RENOVATION OF THE PARTY EXECUTIVE BODIES, SUCH AS THE POLITBURO, AND FOR MORE DIFFUSION OF POWER INSIDE THEM.

IN SUM, PRAVDA'S "HISTORICAL" ESSAY REINFORCES THE IMPRESSION THAT THE CPSU ON THE EVE OF ITS 25TH CONGRESS IS MOVING TOWARD THE ADOPTION OF SOMEWHAT MORE RIGID POLICY LINES AT HOME AND ABROAD. END SUMMARY

2. STALIN RETURNS: SINCE THE DEATH OF STALIN IN 1953, SOVIET LEADERS PERIODICALLY HAVE REASSESSED HIS MEMORY IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY ONE OR ANOTHER POLICY COURSE. IN GENERAL, PRO-STALIN STATEMENTS HAVE TENDED TO DENOTE APPROVAL OF GREATER AUTHORITARIANISM AT HOME AND SKEPTICISM ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR DURABLE IMPROVEMENT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS. ANTI-STALIN MOVES HAVE AIMED AT DESTROYING THE MYTH OF THE SUPREME LEADER'S INFALLIBILITY SO THAT THE REGIME MIGHT NOT BE TIED BY HIS OFTEN HARSH POLICIES. SWITCHES ON THE STALIN ISSUE HAVE AS A RULE FOLLOWED MOMENTOUS EVENTS IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD OR SHIFTS OF POSITION INSIDE THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP.

3. ON AT LEAST ONE SCORE, PRAVDA'S EDITORS BROKE NEW GROUND WITH THEIR ARTICLE, "ALONG THE PATH OF SOCIALIST INDUSTRIALIZATION. FOR THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE 14TH PARTY CONGRESS," WHICH THEY RAN ON DECEMBER 18, 1975,
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ABOVE THE SIGNATURE OF PROFESSOR K. SUVOROV (K. I. SUVOROV IN JANUARY 1975 WAS HEAD OF THE CPSU HISTORY DEPARTMENT OF THE CC CPSU ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES). SUVOROV IDENTIFIED STALIN AS THE LEADING FIGURE WHO DELIVERED THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITICAL REPORT TO THE 14TH CONGRESS. THIS WAS THE FIRST POSITIVE REFERENCE TO STALIN IN PRAVDA SINCE APRIL 4, 1975, WHEN ARMY GENERAL MALTSEV, HEAD OF THE LENIN MILITARY POLITICAL ACADEMY, IN AN ARTICLE PEGGED TO THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF V-E DAY, FAVORABLY RECALLED STALIN'S RADIO ADDRESS TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN JULY 1941.

4. BETWEEN APRIL 4 AND DECEMBER 18, VARIOUS MILITARY LEADERS AND REGIONAL PARTY BOSSES MADE FAVORABLE MENTIONS OF STALIN OUTSIDE OF PRAVDA IN COMMENTARIES THAT TACITLY

URGED A MORE DISTRUSTFUL KREMLIN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE WESTERN POWERS AND A TIGHTENING OF INTERNAL DISCIPLINE BEYOND THE LIMITS ADVOCATED BY BREZHNEV AND HIS COTERIE. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, PRAVDA'S EMBARGO OF PRO-STALIN ITEMS CAN ONLY BE REGARDED AS A SYMBOLIC ACT, MIRRORING DISPLEASURE WITH THOSE WHO STILL CHAMPIONED THE STALINIST LEGACY. BREZHNEV HIMSELF WAS ALMOST CERTAINLY ONE OF THE INSTIGATORS OF THE PRAVDA MORATORIUM ON TRIBUTES TO STALIN: HIS ECONOMIC POLICY WORKS, PUBLISHED IN JUNE-JULY 1975, AIRED FOR THE FIRST TIME A REBUKE HE HAD DELIVERED AT THE DECEMBER 1969 PLENUM TO COMMUNISTS WHO, LIKE STALIN, WERE PRONE TO USE OF THE BIG STICK ON VIOLATORS OF INTERNAL ORDER: "SOME COMRADES...RECOLLECT PAST TIMES AND IN ESSENCE PROPOSE TO RETURN TO THE METHODS OF EXCEPTIONAL INJUNCTION. I THINK THAT THIS IS AN UNSUITABLE RECIPE." (OB OSNOVNYKH VOPROSAKH EKONOMICHESKOY POLITIKI NA SOVREMENNOM ETAPE. RECHI I DOKLADY, MOSCOW, 1975.)

5. INSOFAR AS THE 14TH CONGRESS ANNIVERSARY WAS CONCERNED, PRAVDA WAS NOT OBLIGATED TO PAY HOMAGE TO STALIN. THE FACT THAT IT WAS STALIN WHO HAD READ THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITICAL REPORT TO THE CONGRESS WAS IGNORED IN ANNIVERSARY PIECES CARRIED BY A NUMBER OF OTHER CPSU PUBLICATIONS. SEE SELSKAYA ZHIZN (RURAL LIFE), CC CPSU DAILY, ON DEC. 18, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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1975; SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA (SOVIET BELORUSSIA), REPUBLIC-LEVEL PARTY DAILY, ON DEC. 20, 1975; SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA (SOVIET MOLDAVIA), REPUBLIC-LEVEL PARTY DAILY, ON DEC. 19, 1975; KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII (COMMUNIST OF SOVIET LATVIA), REPUBLIC-LEVEL PARTY JOURNAL, NO. 12 (SIGNED TO PRESS NOV. 24), 1975; KOMMUNIST BELORUSSII (COMMUNIST OF BELORUSSIA), REPUBLIC-LEVEL PARTY JOURNAL, NO. 11 (SIGNED TO PRESS NOV. 11), 1975; AS WELL AS THE MONOGRAPH OF G. S. YESKOV, XIV SYEZH VKP(B)--14TH CPSU(B) CONGRESS, MOSCOW (SIGNED TO PRESS FEB. 19), 1975.

6. THE ONLY AVAILABLE PUBLICATION THAT ANTICIPATED PRAVDA'S DECISION TO RESTORE STALIN TO HIS PEDESTAL FOR THE OCCASION WAS THE DEFENSE MINISTRY'S MILITARY-HISTORICAL JOURNAL. SEE "14TH CPSU(B) CONGRESS AND STRENGTHENING OF THE SOVIET UNION'S DEFENSE MIGHT. FOR THE CONGRESS' 50TH ANNIVERSARY," BY N. TSVETAYEV, ASSOCIATE PROF., MAJOR-GENERAL OF RESERVES, VOYENNO-ISTORICHESKIY ZHURNAL, NO. 12 (SIGNED TO PRESS NOV. 20), 1975.

7. WHOEVER WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR STALIN'S RETURN TO THE COLUMNS OF PRAVDA APPARENTLY FELT THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO ENCOURAGE TOUGHER THOUGHT AND ACTION INSIDE THE BUREAUCRATIC MACHINERY, IN THAT

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(A)--THE ARTICLE WOULD BE TAKEN AS A SIGN OF APPROVAL FROM UPON HIGH FOR THE STRICTER ENFORCEMENT OF RULES AND REGULATIONS, IF NOT EXTRA-LEGAL HARASSMENT OF TROUBLEMAKERS;

(B)--THE FAILURE TO MENTION THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY WOULD BE VIEWED AS DISAPPROVAL OF ANY SUCH REFORMIST IDEAS AS DECENTRALIZING MEASURES TO HELP RESTORE THE ECONOMY; AND

(C)--THE STALINIST COLORATION CARRIED WITH IT THE IMPLICATION OF A SHARPENED RIVALRY BETWEEN THE USSR AND NON-COMMUNIST STATES.

INDEED, PRAVDA'S COVERAGE OF THE FOREIGN-POLICY ASPECTS OF THE 14TH CONGRESS WAS REMINISCENT OF THE COOLNESS TOWARD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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DETENTE DIPLOMACY THAT BOTH ITS EDITORS AND SOVIET RULING BODIES HAD EXHIBITED IN PRECEDING WEEKS. IT IS ALSO NOTEWORTHY THAT PRAVDA AND IZVESTIYA PAID NO ATTENTION TO THE ALL-UNION SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE ON THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS' "PEACE PROGRAM," WHICH WAS HELD IN BAKU ON DECEMBER 23-24, 1975.

8. COEXISTENCE DEPRECIATED: PRAVDA'S DECEMBER 18, 1975, TREATMENT OF THE 14TH CONGRESS FOCUSED ON ITS WARNINGS ABOUT "CAPITALIST ENCIRCLEMENT" AND IGNORED HOPEFUL WORDS ABOUT SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE WEST. IN CONTRAST, THE CONGRESS' RESOLUTION ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT HAD STATED OPTIMISTICALLY: "...IN THE INTERNATIONAL FIELD THE SOVIET UNION HAS GAINED A NUMBER OF NEW RECOGNITIONS FROM CAPITALIST STATES, CONCLUDED A NUMBER OF NEW TRADE AND CONCESSIONARY AGREEMENTS WITH THEM, INCREASED ITS FOREIGN TRADE TURNOVER AND STRENGTHENED ITS INTERNATIONAL POSITION....IN THE SPHERE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THERE IS A STRENGTHENING AND EXPANSION OF 'THE BREATHING SPACE,' WHICH HAS TURNED INTO AN ENTIRE PERIOD OF SO-CALLED PEACEFUL COHABITATION (MIRNOGO SOZHITELSTVA) OF THE USSR WITH THE CAPITALIST STATES, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT THE ANTAGONISMS BETWEEN THESE TWO CAMPS HAVE NOT WEAKENED, BUT GROWN. THIS INSURES BOTH THE POSSIBILITY OF DOMESTIC BUILDING AND--THANKS PRIMARILY TO ECONOMIC DEALINGS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES--CERTAIN ADVANTAGES FOR SPEEDING-UP THIS BUILDING INSIDE THE USSR."

9. COMMENTARY ON THE 14TH CONGRESS WHICH PRECEDED THAT IN PRAVDA DID NOT FAIL TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THESE PASSAGES. THE

ANNIVERSARY MONOGRAPH BY YESKOV, PUBLISHED IN FEBRUARY 1975, HAD RECALLED THE THEMES OF ECONOMIC CONTACTS AND

"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" (MIRNOGO SOSUSHCHESTVOVANIYA). EVEN THE STERN ARTICLE BY GENERAL TSVETAYEV, RELEASED IN NOVEMBER 1975, ASSERTED THAT AT THE MOMENT OF THE 14TH CONGRESS, "THE MAIN THING IN THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION WAS THE USSR'S STRENGTHENING AND ITS GAINING THE CONDITIONS FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WITH THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES." AND THE LATVIAN PARTY JOURNAL'S COMMEMORATIVE ARTICLE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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QUOTED 14TH CONGRESS DOCUMENTS ON THE NEED "TO CONDUCT A POLICY OF PEACE WHICH MUST BE AT THE CENTER OF ALL OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FOREIGN POLICY."

10. ODDLY, PRAVDA'S DECEMBER 18 ARTICLE SIDESTEPED ALL TALK OF PEACE AND COOPERATION, STRESSING INSTEAD THE FACTOR OF RAW NATIONAL POWER: "AT THAT TIME THE SOVIET UNION'S INTERNATIONAL SITUATION HAD STRENGTHENED CONSIDERABLY. HOWEVER, THE COUNTRY REMAINED WITHIN HOSTILE CAPITALIST ENCIRCLEMENT AND THERE WAS A REAL DANGER OF ARMED ATTACKS FROM THE IMPERIALIST COUNTRIES. THIS IS WHY THE 14TH CONGRESS POINTED OUT THE NEED FOR HIGH POLITICAL VIGILANCE AND FOR THE ADOPTION OF EVERY POSSIBLE MEASURE TO STRENGTHEN THE SOVIET UNION'S DEFENSE CAPABILITY AND, PRIMARILY, FOR THE CREATION OF A MODERN INDUSTRIAL BASE."

11. ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE CRITICIZED: AS IF WITH AN EYE TOWARD THE CC CPSU'S DRAFT 10TH FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1976-80), WHICH ENVISAGED THE CLEAR-CUT PRIORITY OF CAPITAL GOODS OUTPUT, THE AUTHOR OF THE PRAVDA COMMENTARY, PROFESSOR SUVOROV, TERMED "LENIN'S ARGUMENT REGARDING THE FUNDAMENTAL ROLE OF LARGE-SCALE SOCIALIST INDUSTRY IN CREATING THE NEW SOCIETY" "...ALSO URGENT FOR THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD." CONCEIVABLY, PROFESSOR SUVOROV'S EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF MAKING THE SOVIET UNION SELF-SUFFICIENT WAS MEANT TO IMPLY THAT IN CONDITIONS OF A FOREIGN EXCHANGE SQUEEZE (RESULTING, INTER ALIA, FROM LARGE-SCALE GRAIN PURCHASES ABROAD) IT MIGHT BE WISE TO SCALE DOWN PLANS FOR INDUSTRIAL IMPORTS EVEN IF MAJOR PROJECTS WERE AFFECTED: "...THE 14TH CONGRESS ISSUED A DIRECTIVE...TO INSURE THE USSR'S ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE FROM THE WORLD CAPITALIST ECONOMY....THE PARTY EXPRESSED ITS DETERMINATION TO 'CONDUCT ECONOMIC BUILDING FROM THE STANDPOINT OF INSURING THAT THE USSR IS TRANSFORMED FROM A COUNTRY WHICH IMPORTS MACHINES, THUS

INSURING THAT, IN THE SITUATION OF CAPITALIST ENCIRCLEMENT, THE USSR CANNOT BY ANY MEANS BE TURNED INTO AN ECONOMIC APPENDAGE OF THE CAPITALIST WORLD ECONOMY BUT WOULD REPRESENT AN INDEPENDENT ECONOMIC UNIT WHICH IS

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BUILT IN A SOCIALIST MANNER AND WHICH IS CAPABLE, THANKS TO ITS ECONOMIC GROWTH, OF SERVING AS A POWERFUL MEANS FOR REVOLUTIONIZING THE WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES AND THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE COLONIES AND SEMI-COLONIES.'... THE LINE (OF THE ZINOVIEV-KAMENEV FACTION) WAS AIMED AT TOLERATING AND CONSOLIDATING THE COUNTRY'S DEPENDENCE ON THE WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM....THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF THE COUNTRY INSURED OUR COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE." IN ANY EVENT, PROFESSOR SUVOROV'S ELOQUENT SILENCE ABOUT THE BENEFITS OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION WERE IN TUNE WITH OTHER RECENT ITEMS IN PRAVDA--NOVEMBER 13 (SERGEYEV) AND DECEMBER 26, 1975 (PAVLUKHIN)--THAT RESURRECTED THE VENERABLE PRACTICE OF CLAIMING A PACE-MAKING ROLE FOR THE SOVIET UNION IN THE FIELD OF INDUSTRIAL TECHNOLOGY.

12. FOR THE OLD GUARD OF PARTY SECRETARIES: AN ANTI-EXPERIMENTALIST NOTE WAS ALSO STRUCK IN PROFESSOR SUVOROV'S REVIEW OF THE INNER-PARTY ASPECTS OF THE 14;H CONGRESS TRANSACTIONS. SUVOROV WAS SILENT ABOUT THE CONGRESS' ORDER FOR "THE ADVANCEMENT OF NEW FORCES TO LEADING WORK" AND ITS ENDORSEMENT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVE PARTY LEADERSHIP, WHICH WAS POINTED OUT IN SOME OTHER COMMENTARIES. SEE YESKOV'S MONOGRAPH AND THE SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA (DEC. 19, 1975) ARTICLE OF PROF. STRATIYEVSKIY.

13. IN EFFECT, THIS WAS A RIPOSTE TO THE FORCES THAT ONLY RECENTLY HAD ARGUED FOR THE REVAMPING OF PARTY STAFFS AND UPGRADING OF PARTY BUREAUS AT EXPENSE OF THE PARTY SECRETARIAT NETWORK, WHICH WHILE FORMALLY COLLEGIAL IS BELIEVED TO BE MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO ONE-MAN RULE. SUCH FORCES HAD VOICED THEIR OPINION THROUGH THE WRITINGS OF P. A. RODIONOV, FIRST DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE CC CPSU INSTITUTE OF MARXISM-LENINISM, WHO REPEATEDLY HAS ADVOCATED BOTH AN INFLUX OF "NEW FRESH FORCES" INTO CPSU EXECUTIVE BODIES AND MORE DIFFUSION OF POWER. SEE PRAVDA, JAN. 21, 1975, KOMMUNIST ESTONII, NO. 8 (SIGNED TO PRESS JULY 29), 1975 AND KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, NO. 8 (SIGNED TO PRESS JULY 30), 1975.

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14. AT ODDS WITH RODIONOV'S THRUST IN BEHALF OF SHAKING UP THE LEADING ORGANS AND IN ACCORD WITH SUVOROV'S IMPLICIT DEFENSE OF THE STATUS QUO, KIRGIZ PARTY HEAD USUBALIYEV NOT LONG AGO HAILED THE ANTI-KHRUSHCHEV PLENUM OF OCTOBER 1964 FOR TAKING STEPS THAT WOULD ENABLE "STABILIZATION OF THE COMPOSITION OF LEADING CADRES" (SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA, SEPTEMBER 2, 1975). DURABILITY OF TENURE HAS INDEED BEEN THE NORM THUS FAR IN THE LATEST

ROUND OF ELECTIONS OF SENIOR OFFICIALS AT REGIONAL PARTY CONFERENCES. BREZHNEV AND KIRILENKO AS HELMSMEN OF THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT MAY BE ASSUMED TO HAVE AGREED WITH AT LEAST THE PRO-SECRETARIAT TWIST OF SUVOROV'S DISCREET ACCOUNT OF THE 14TH CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS.

15. CONCLUSION: PRAVDA'S REHABILITATION OF STALIN AFTER ITS STRANGE AVOIDANCE OF HIS NAME FOR MORE THAN EIGHT MONTHS WOULD SEEM TO HAVE VINDICATED "SOME COMRADES" WHOM BREZHNEV DERIDED FOR ADVISING A TIGHTENING UP ON THE SOVIET INTERNAL SCENE, IF IT DID NOT MARK A RETREAT BY BREZHNEV HIMSELF TOWARD A MORE HARD-LINE POSITION. THE IGNORING OF THE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE THEME MAY ALSO HAVE BEEN KEYED TO THE ESCALATION OF SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR, WHICH PROBABLY REPRESENTED A VICTORY FOR CPSU ELEMENTS WEDDED MORE TO THE IDEA OF SOVIET EXPANSIONISM THAN TO EAST-WEST COLLABORATION. BREZHNEV'S OWN HAND IS CLEARLY VISIBLE ONLY IN THE SECTION OF PRAVDA'S PRO-STALIN ARTICLE THAT TENDS TO DEFEND THE POWER PREROGATIVES OF THE FEDERAL PARTY SECRETARIAT AND ITS LOCAL ARMS. IN THIS CONNECTION IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT IN LOCAL--BUT NOT NATIONAL--COMMENTARY ON THE DECEMBER SUPREME SOVIET MEETING THE SECRETARIAT WAS LUMPED TOGETHER WITH THE POLITBURO AS A MAKER OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY.

16. IN SUM, THE FOREGOING SUGGESTS THAT THE SEEMING ALLIANCE OF CAUTIOUS PARTY AND MILITARY CHIEFTAINS THAT RAISED UP BREZHNEV AFTER KHRUSHCHEV'S DEMISE MAY ALSO HAVE GAINED A NEW VITALITY AFTER THE INTERLUDE OF MILDLY REVISIONIST INITIATIVES OF A PERSONAL NATURE THAT BREZHNEV LAUNCHED AT THE HEIGHT OF HIS POWERS. INGERSOLL
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